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## AMANAKHAREQEREMA – A MEROITIC KING OF THE 1<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY AD

While preparing the publication of the wall reliefs of the small Amun temple Naga 200 which will soon be published a re-evaluation of the documents of Amanakhareqerema was necessary. Certain features of the relief decoration as well as new findings in the last years have led to new aspects concerning this king and his place in time. Discussed are the monuments and the king's endeavours, the probable burial place and his significance in the history of Kush.

### 1. DOCUMENTS OF AMANAKHAREQEREMA

In the following chapters the monuments of Amanakhareqerema<sup>1</sup> are discussed, beginning with the oldest document found, the Soba ram, and the related temple at El Hassa lying c. 40 km south of Meroe and ca. 180 km north of Khartoum.

#### *1.1 Temple of Amun at El Hassa and the ram of Soba*

In 1975 while digging a channel at Meshra el Hassan (Seyal Sirag) a headless statue of a recumbent ram with a fragmentary figure between its forelegs was found together with part of a large cavetto cornice near the remains of a brick temple.<sup>2</sup> The ram's similarity in style and inscription with the so-called Soba ram were soon recognised.<sup>3</sup>

The Soba ram, called after its find spot at Soba 22 km upstream from Khartoum, was for the first time presented to a European audience by F. Cailliaud in 1821 and the travel reports of Pierre Trémaux.<sup>4</sup> In the sixties/seventies of the 19<sup>th</sup> century AD the ram

was brought to Khartoum and set up in the garden of the Sudanese National Museum. It is now, together with a ram of El Hassa excavated in 2002, installed on the museum's terrace. In antiquity the ram must have been transported to Soba, the capital of the Christian empire of Alwa (6<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century AD); no substantial traces of buildings of the Meroitic period have been found there.<sup>5</sup>

The inscriptions, a mixture of Egyptian and Meroitic hieroglyphs, of the Soba ram (REM 0001) and the Seyal Sirag ram of 1975 (REM 1151) are very similar in appearance and bear both the royal name Amanakhareqerema. Although stylistically alike, the rams differ in size, the Soba ram being larger.<sup>6</sup>

Since 2000 a joint mission of the French SFDAS, the Sudanese antiquities service NCAM and the University of Shendi have investigated the archaeological site of El Hassa.<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile six ram-statues of the alley of altogether 14 rams standing on brick plinths in front of the temple have come to light. Two groups of rams of different size exist, a group of six smaller ones in front of the kiosk to which belongs the ram of 1975, and a second group of eight between kiosk and pylon to which belongs the Soba ram. The temple complex of El Hassa, built of brick with parts in stone, resembles the Amun temple Naga 100. A high altar was erected in front of the complex like those found in Kawa, Meroe, Awlib, Hamadab, Naga 100 and Naga 200. Like at Naga 100 a further ram statue stood behind the temple building, perhaps inside a chapel.<sup>8</sup> It served as a contra-temple that allowed ordinary people to worship outside the temple proper. At least two main building phases can be observed, but it is not clear whether Amanakhareqerema was responsible for

1 A recent summary is Rilly 2017, 286-91. In dating the colossal statues of Tabo to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD V. Rondot (2011: 437-8; accepted by Rilly 2017: 290-1) brings kings Amanakhareqerema and Amanitenmomide as commissioners of the statues into the discussion. His proposal is not further pursued here.

2 Lenoble & Rondot 2003: 112-5, fig. 4, pls. 20-22.

3 Shinnie & Bradley 1977.

4 On the ram's history cf. Hofmann 1981; Zach 1987; Welsby 1991: 278; Kormysheva 2006: 211-3, cat. 214.

5 Cf. Welsby 1991; 1996: 34.

6 Cf. Wenig 1978: 210; 1999: 678-83; Baldi 2015. Soba ram: c. 138 x 63 x 57 cm (length/width/depth), the ram found 1975 at El Hassa: 116 x 53 x 46 cm.

7 Lenoble & Rondot 2003; Rondot 2006; 2010a; 2012. Cf. <http://sfdas.com/fouilles-et-prospections/fouilles-programmes-de-la-sfdas/article/el-hassa?lang=en>.

8 Rondot 2012: 174, fig. 2, 4 (building phases). Naga: Kroeper 2006: 294, fig. 6; Kröper et al. 2011: 91-2, fig. 106.

both. A first small temple – in its layout resembling the Amun temple Naga 200 – was enlarged into a greater building with a partly open columned court, two pillared halls in front of the sanctuary; smaller side rooms are adjoining. After a phase of decay of unknown duration the temple was reactivated. Noteworthy are the finds in the sanctuary where the collapse of a vault preserved the original situation.<sup>9</sup> Objects deposited in front of the altar base reflect an offering situation; other objects (discarded votives?) were sealed within the brickwork of the altar.<sup>10</sup> The partially preserved wall decoration of the temple in painted high-relief plaster-work depicts royal or divine figures. Published are only the middle part of a royal figure holding a ‘pine cone’ and the double life-size head of a male (the king?), both oriented left.<sup>11</sup> A figure on the small side of the pylon is said to represent a female, a *kandake* or a goddess.<sup>12</sup>

The ancient name of El Hassa is preserved in the inscriptions on the base of the ram statues in which the Amun of/in Tabakh (*mni-tbḥ-te*) is mentioned. The ram-headed god wearing a headgear consisting of full moon and crescent on the pectoral from the altar base has incorporated aspects of a moon deity.<sup>13</sup> It is not known whether the scene of presenting a crown (to a not depicted king) on the pectoral points to a coronation journey reaching El Hassa.<sup>14</sup>

### 1.2 Temple Naga 200

From 2004 to 2010 the Naga Project has excavated the mound of the small Amun temple Naga 200 lying southwest of the town’s main Amun temple.<sup>15</sup> It is oriented perpendicular to the processional route of Naga 100 built by Natakamani and Amanitore. The only partly standing sandstone walls had tumbled in

9 Rondot 2010b: 236-9, figs. 308-18; 2012: 176-8, fig. 5.

10 In front of altar: bowl, Neolithic implements, odd-shaped stone concretions, an offering table; bronze items like an Osiris figurine, a staff finial in form of a Meroitic queen, a container for burning incense. In brickwork of altar: faience pectoral, imported Egyptian objects like a Ptolemaic Isis statuette and a splendid scarab.

11 Rondot 2006: 41; figure with pine cone: Francigny 2009: 73-4, pl. IIe); male head: Grimal & Adly 2004: 144, fig. 51.

12 Personal communication V. Rondot and G. Nogara, September 2014. Unclear is whether this is the figure depicted in Francigny 2009: pl. IIe.

13 Rondot 2010b: 237, fig. 311.

14 On the coronation journey cf. i.a. Török 1997a: 220-34.

15 Wolf 2006: 244, 257 (erroneously labelled as single-roomed), fig. 8; Kröper 2011: 97-99, fig. 2, 3; Kuckertz 2011; 2012; forthcoming. Many thanks go to D. Wildung, K. Kroeper and S. Schoske for allowing me to publish the photographs and plan of Naga 200.

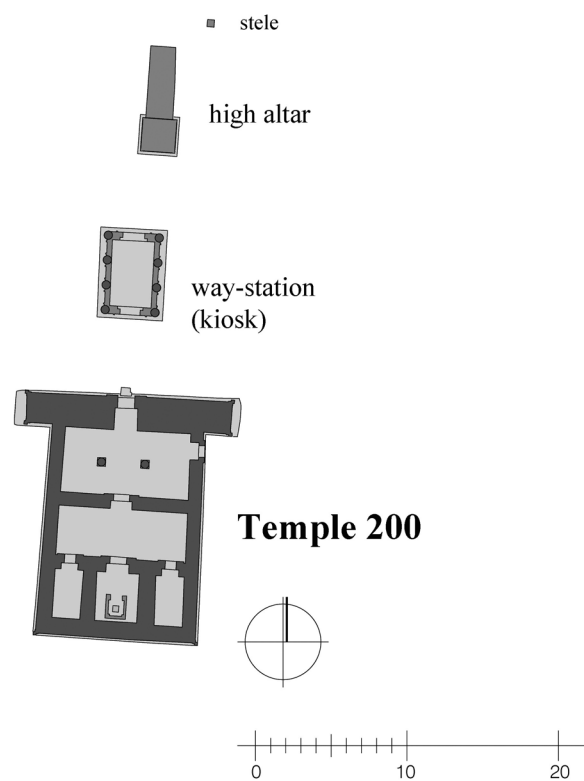


Fig. 1: Plan of temple complex Naga 200, A. Riedel et al., © Naga Project.

antiquity. A large number of loose blocks with decoration enabled the reconstruction of the wall relief to a large extent. The temple consists of two rooms and a tripartite sanctuary. A processional kiosk and a high altar plus a separate smaller altar (Naga 251, 260, 270, fig. 1) are lying in front of the main building. On the pylon the traditional Egyptian motif of the king slaying enemies is shown above a frieze of prisoners bound to *sema*-signs. Up to now unattested in Meroitic temple decoration is the scene of a deity standing opposite and presenting the king, in this case Amanakhareqerema (fig. 2), a sickle-sword. On the right pylon it is an anthropomorphic god with *Hemhem* Crown while on the left pylon it is a ram-headed deity with moon and crescent on the head.



Fig. 2: King Amanakhareqerema, Naga 200, block 273, © Naga Project.



The pylon's outer narrow sides show anthropomorphic deities crowned with sun disk and uraeus. A frieze in the pylon's cavetto cornice depicts various Amun deities, each with a spouse, the Horus-falcon and cartouches. On the outer long walls the king, sometimes protected by a winged goddess, adores various deities. On the west wall he is found twice in front of triadic groups comprising i.a. Apedemak and Amesemi, as well as the ram-headed Amun with a goddess; once he is standing in front of Khonsu in his chapel. On the eastern outer wall only two triadic groups, once with Amun and Mut, are adored by the king. Between each member of the divine couples a third figure is positioned whose identity is difficult to establish, being either a child of theirs or more probably the deified Amanakhareqerema. The relief on the outer south wall depicts the Chemnis-scene with Isis breast-feeding her son Horus in the papyrus marshes. This central motif is flanked by the ruler adoring the goddess on the right and on the left by the king in front of an altar laden with offerings. In the interior of Naga 200 Amanakhareqerema, clad in priestly costume, is standing in front of pairs of deities, in some cases to be identified as Amun and Mut. On the east wall of room 201 the king presents his heir to Amun. In this room a second smaller register like in Naga 300 has to be assumed. The decoration of the sanctuaries and of the upper wall parts is mostly lost.

There are some indications in the relief program of Naga 200 (presenting the heir, belligerent attitude of the king's appearance, focusing on legitimacy, etc.)<sup>16</sup> which point to the probability that king Amanakhareqerema was perhaps not a legitimate descendant of the ruling line of his predecessors.

### 1.3 Circular stone from Naga, Khartoum SNM 34547

While removing a metal fence near the kiosk Naga 361, the 'Roman kiosk' or Hathor chapel, a circular stone came to light in 1998 which adhered to the concrete foundation of one of the fence posts.<sup>17</sup> The upper face of the stone (diameter 27.6 cm, height 15.5 cm), broken in three fragments, is flat and smooth, the back, or lower, part is rough except of some portions of the rim which is cut straight and levelled. A four-lined inscription in Meroitic cursive (REM 1282) is incised on the upper surface revealing

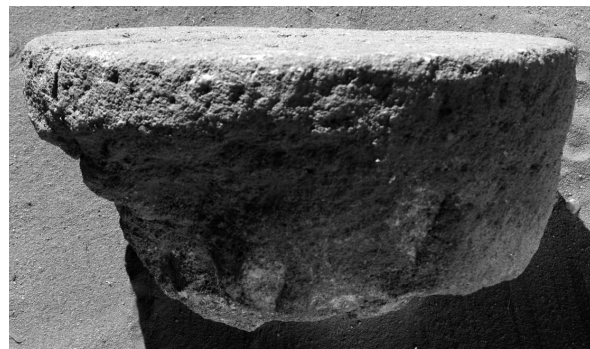
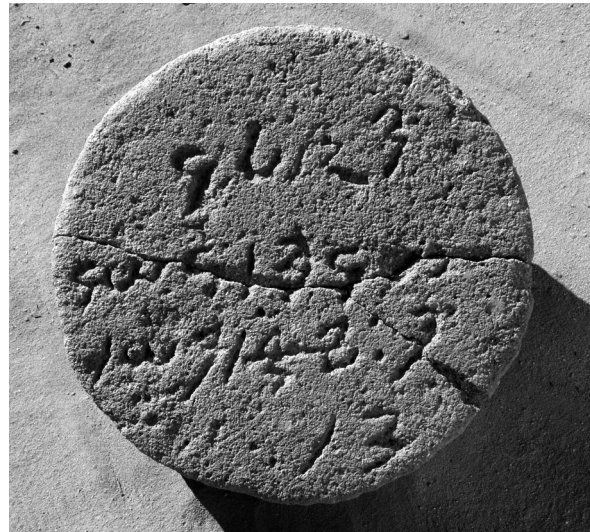


Fig. 3: Stone with Meroitic inscription of Amanakhareqerema (REM 1282) from Naga, Khartoum SNM 34547, © Naga Project.

the name of Amanakhareqerema and an addition or epithet *wtemroso* which perhaps means *given life* or is an expression containing the word *protection* (fig. 3).<sup>18</sup>

According to C. Rilly's palaeographic study of the cursive inscription the current dating of Amanakhareqerema to the middle to late 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD has to be revised.<sup>19</sup> The proximity to inscriptions of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, especially to those of or soon after Natakamani and Amanitore, has shown that Amanakhareqerema cannot have lived very much later. He must have been one of their close successors or even perhaps the one succeeding them directly. It is assumed that he lived in the last decades of the first century AD.

It is not known where the circular stone with the royal name was originally placed and which function it had. Its circular form and flat surface, the only partially worked rim and the rough back

16 See Kuckertz forthcoming: chap. XII.

17 Field-number 346/4, Kroeper & Wildung 2002: 139, pl. VIa.

18 Hallof & Hallof 2000; Rilly 2001: 71-82; 2011: 199-201, fig. 229.

19 Rilly 2001; 2004.

part of the stone speak for being integrated into something, perhaps a brick wall. As the stone was found in the area of the Hathor chapel and the Lion temple of Natakamani and Amanitore to which, however, it originally may not have belonged, it is conceivable that their successor had deposited the stone there, perhaps as some kind of votive offering. Amanakhareqerema in his own temple Naga 200 partly copied the relief-decoration of the Lion temple. The proclamation of his name by means of the circular stone may also have been used to incorporate his temple and himself into a ritual procedure or a processional ceremony departing from the Amun temple Naga 100 and leading at last to the Lion temple. Such inter-temple connections are also noticeable in the decoration of Naga 200.<sup>20</sup>

*1.4 Omphalos from Jebel Barkal, Boston  
MFA 21.3234*

The so-called ‘omphalos’ is the second oldest known monument of Amanakhareqerema.<sup>21</sup> It was found in April 1916<sup>22</sup> by G. A. Reisner in the debris of hall 503 of the large Amun temple Barkal 500. The formerly plastered and painted sandstone object resembles a dome-shaped African hut with circular ground plan. Above a slightly jutting base the first register of three shows a frieze of plants, alternating with open and closed umbels, identified as either lotus (Steindorff, Hofmann) or papyrus (Wenig, website Boston). The third register, the cupola or roof, is decorated with a pattern resembling a collar of several rows of pearls. Probably a finial was attached atop the dome which is now broken off; it may have been a ram’s head or a uraeus.<sup>23</sup> The object is styled as a naos with an entrance flanked by half-columns or pilasters and a termination above the door which is now largely broken off.<sup>24</sup> Inside the cavity of the dome a

trapezoid sunken area presumably served to hold a small statue of an enthroned deity, most probably a statuette of Amun. The divine image could be withdrawn from sight by closing a small separate door (so Kendall). Two relief processions move towards the entrance (fig. 4). The king is shown twice on each side, followed and protected by a winged goddess crowned with a sun disk and holding a feather in her uplifted arm. Two of the goddesses are lion-headed; the other two are purely anthropomorphic. One of them wears a uraeus. The goddesses appear as pairs: with view towards the entrance, the lion-headed goddess first is on the right side, the human-headed goddess on the left; the next group is reversed with the human-headed goddess on the right and the lion-headed goddess on the left side. The king has his hands raised in the gesture of adoration. He is clad in a short kilt with projecting middle part and a ceremonial tail. He wears a tight fitting skull cap with circular decoration; two uraei are attached at the brow<sup>25</sup> and the two streamers of his fillet are pending behind his head. At the back, in the middle register two cartouches are engraved, each topped by two ostrich-feathers and sun disk.<sup>26</sup> In the left cartouche the throne name Nebmaatre is written in Egyptian hieroglyphs while the right cartouche contains a name in Meroitic hieroglyphs of which some signs are destroyed and difficult to recognise. After several attempts to read the name and to identify the king (see below 2.2) it now seems certain that it comprises the name of Amanakhareqerema.

Inspired by the formal resemblance with the omphalos of Delphi, the function of the dome-shaped MFA 21.3234 was thought to be related to an oracle (of Amun) at Napata by F. Ll. Griffith. G. Steindorff interpreted it as a shrine or chapel and compared it to recent African domed huts that were represented also on Meroitic monuments. I. Hofmann assumed a possible Indian influence in the omphalos interpreting it as a shrine for a deity. T. Kendall considers the object as representing the mountain of Jebel Barkal in which Amun of Napata is dwelling. Another interpretation is provided by A. Pompei who considers it as representing a reliquary or shrine for some royal attribute, perhaps the uraeus or the Cap Crown handed over at the coronation ceremony.<sup>27</sup>

with fig.

20 See Kuckertz forthcoming: chap. X.1.

21 Height 62.7 cm, diameter 59.2 cm, PM VII: 222-3; Griffith 1916; Reisner 1931: 83 (60); Steindorff 1938; Hofmann 1970; Dunham 1970: 34, 57, pls. 35, 36; Wenig 1978: 209-10, cat. 131; Kendall in: Wildung 1996: 270-1, cat. 288; FHN III: 936, 938; Onderka, Vrtal et al. 2013: 72-4, fig. 8.10; 2014: 154-5, fig. 24.3. The omphalos is cited very often, here only a selective bibliography is given. Its designation derives from the beehive form of the omphalos at Delphi.

22 The year 1915 is quoted several times in publications; according to the field-number 16-4-543 the excavation year 1916 is certain. Cf. also <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/shrine-144530>, latest access 11.06.2017.

23 Ram’s head: Kendall, in: Wildung 1996: 270; uraeus: Pompei 2006: 55.

24 Steindorff 1938: 150 pl. VII.1, figs. 1, 2; Wildung 1996: 271

25 According to Steindorff (1938: 149) the uraei of the first king wear the crowns of Lower and Upper Egypt, those of the second king a sun disk.

26 Steindorff 1938: 150, fig. 39.

27 Griffith 1916: 255; Steindorff 1938: 150; Hofmann 1978; Kendall, in: Wildung 1996: 270; Pompei 2006: 56.

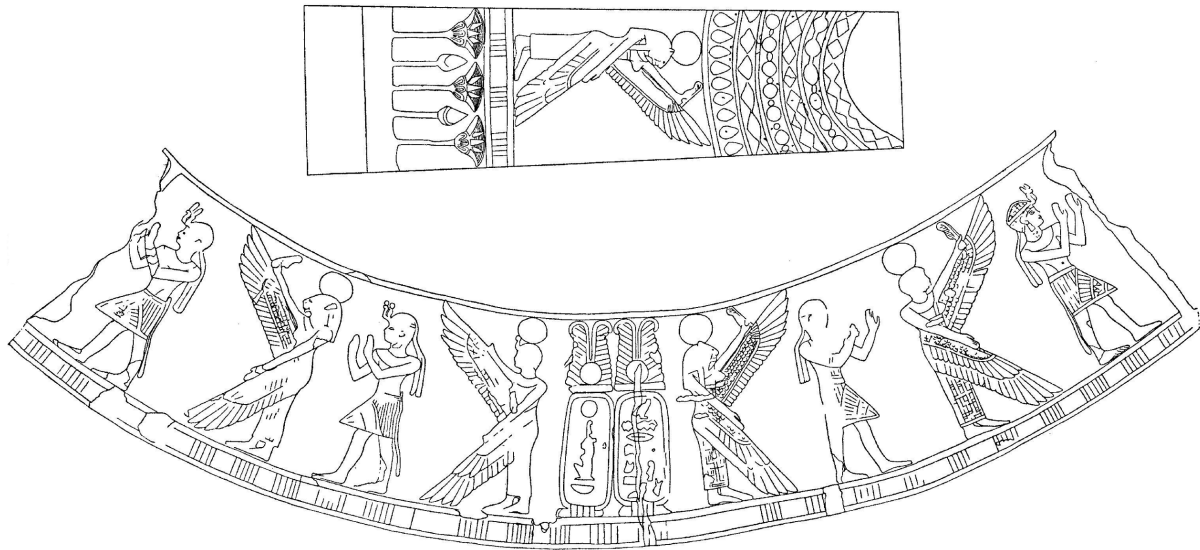


Fig. 4: Omphalos MFA 21.3234 (after Steindorff 1938: 148, fig. 2).

The most convincing interpretation, however, remains that of G. Steindorff who identifies the object as the representation of a shrine or chapel derived from an African architectural type, the round hut with dome-like roof.<sup>28</sup> Up to now temples with circular ground plan are definitively attested only in Kerma/Doukki Gel. One of the circular sanctuaries in the Nubian religious compound endured – with several stages of reorganisation – from before the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty until the Meroitic period – thus covering a period of more than 1500 years.<sup>29</sup> Traces of the spatial arrangement in its interior or of installations are preserved from the Napatan phase; even a deposit of precious materials belonging to cultic objects (gold foil, inlays of lapis lazuli and glass, bronze cornice of a naos) has been discovered.<sup>30</sup> The sanctuary was at that time presumably rebuilt by Aspelta after destruction possibly by the Egyptian troops of Psamtek II in 593 BC.<sup>31</sup> The circular building at Wad Ben Naga (WBN 50) may perhaps also be regarded as a religious structure.<sup>32</sup> It is usually considered a

storage facility or possible observatory. Indications for the existence of circular dome-like sanctuaries may exist in Nubian territory for which the Barkal omphalos seems to be a model.<sup>33</sup> A determinative on the stele of Nastasen Berlin ÄM 2268 exhibits a cupola-like feature at which a uraeus is attached.<sup>34</sup> The determinative is used for the place name of Napata as well as for the word *k3[r]* designating a chapel or sanctuary. Thus the sign favours either interpretation – that as a shrine and also that as the mountain of Jebel Barkal preferred by T. Kendall. The word for chapel followed by this special determinative leads S. Wenig and L. Török to suspect that at Jebel Barkal once a dome-like sanctuary of circular form existed of which the hieroglyph on the Nastasen stele and the omphalos MFA 21.3234 are reminiscences.<sup>35</sup> That the omphalos indeed represents a shrine is further supported by the lower frieze of plants which regularly appears in the dado zone of Egyptian temples of Greco-Roman times.<sup>36</sup>

28 Meroitic depictions of such huts are on the bronze-bowl from Karanog (JE 41017, Wildung 1996: 382, cat. 453) and on a relief-block from the enclosure wall of the Lion temple Meroe 6 (Garstang et al. 1911: 21, pl. XXI.6).

29 Bonnet 2007: 189-92, figs. 7-8; Kuckertz & Lohwasser 2016: 143-4.

30 Bonnet & Valbelle 2006: 164-70; Bonnet 2007: 190-1, figs. 9-11.

31 On the campaign Sauneron & Yoyotte 1952; Török 1997a: 371-4; Kuckertz 2016.

32 Vercoutter 1962: 273-5; Onderka, Vrtal et al. 2013: 67-74; 2014: 152-5. Diameter 18.3 m, wall thickness 3.7 m; thoroughly plastered inside, a ramp leading to it from which two stairs descend down to the floor in the interior. Painted plaster fragments have also been found, P. Onderka, personal communication.

#### *1.5 Sandstone fragments from Doukki Gel, Khartoum SNM 35424*

Between 1998 and 2000 several thin sandstone fragments bearing traces of yellow ochre pigment were found in the debris of the hypostyle hall of the Eastern temple at Doukki Gel.<sup>37</sup> A king kneeling on a naos (?) is depicted on the largest fragment (fig. 5).

33 Cf. Kuckertz & Lohwasser 2016: 142-5.

34 Priesse 1977: 361; cf. Peust 1999: 110.

35 Wenig 1978: 209; Török 1997a: 301; 2002: 22.

36 Cf. Dils 2014.

37 Valbelle 2011 with fig. 1.



Fig. 5: Fragment from Doukki Gel (after Valbelle 1999: 85 f., fig. 5).

Turning to the right he presents a cartouche to a ram-headed Amun with *heqa*-sceptre who is squatting on a lotus flower. According to D. Valbelle, the cartouche contains the name Nebmaat[re] which she ascribes to king Amanakhareqerema. The king is protected by the larger figure of a goddess spreading her wings who is depicted on further fragments. Stylistically the slightly stout proportions of the king resemble those of Naga 300 and Naga 200.

Elements of wooden shrines with glass inlays of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Intermediate to Late Period in Egypt may serve as comparison to the stone fragments from Doukki Gel.<sup>38</sup> A group of flat wooden figures shows a king kneeling on a naos being protected by a winged goddess (Turin 518). Similar scenes – one directed to the right, the other to the left – appear on two sets of shrine decoration in Brooklyn. On a wooden shrine of a king Seheribre-Petubastis of dynasty 27 in Bologna the king is kneeling on a plate under which the cartouche with throne name is placed. The fragments of Doukki Gel may have been part of a similar shrine, here encompassing sandstone plates.

The Eastern temple, founded in the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, belonged to a religious complex of several sacred buildings and related structures which developed during the New Kingdom and the Napatan era well into the Meroitic period.<sup>39</sup> The Napatan restructuring took place around the reign of Irikea-

manote in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>40</sup> Probably at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC or at the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD a new red brick building was erected of which only the front parts have survived.

In a first attempt D. Valbelle also considered Amanitenmomide, whose throne name likewise is Nebmaatre, as a possible candidate for the cartouche on the fragment of Doukki Gel.<sup>41</sup> Amanitenmomide too might have had a special relationship with Doukki Gel/Pnubs: in one of the reliefs from his tomb chapel Beg N 17 (south wall Berlin ÄM 2261) the royal sash of the king is held by a brooch in form of a recumbent lion under the Nebes-tree which is the most significant depiction of Amun of Pnubs venerated at Doukki Gel.<sup>42</sup>

### 1.6 Building activities at Dangeil and Jebel Barkal?

Subsequently some instances of possible building activities involving Amanakhareqerema shall be pointed out.

#### Building activities of Amanakhareqerema at Dangeil?

During the excavations of the Berber-Abidiya Archaeological Project in Dangeil<sup>43</sup> several fragments of deliberately destroyed ram statues have been found that originally stood in the dromos in front of the Amun temple.<sup>44</sup> In contrast to the curled pattern of the rams of Natakamani and Amanitore, i.a. in Naga<sup>45</sup>, the fragments from Dangeil show the animal's fleece in a fish-scale pattern which resembles the fleece of the rams of El Hassa. The excavators of Dangeil therefore contemplate the attribution of the rams to king Amanakhareqerema, the builder of El Hassa. As documented by relief fragments in Dangeil the Amun temple itself seems to have been built by Natakamani and Amanitore<sup>46</sup> but Amanakhareqerema could have erected (or renovated) the rams' alley or part of it at a later date.

40 Bonnet et al. 2000: 1100-02, 1119-20, with figs. 2, 15.

41 Valbelle 1999: 85-4.

42 Zach 2009 with fig. 1. On depictions of Amun of Pnubs under the Nebes-tree, cf. Kormysheva 1999.

43 See [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research\\_projects/all\\_current\\_projects/sudan/berber-abidiya\\_project.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/all_current_projects/sudan/berber-abidiya_project.aspx).

44 Salah Mohamed Ahmed & Anderson 2005: 23, figs. 17-18; Anderson & Salah Mohamed Ahmed 2013.

45 Cf. Kröper et al. 2011: frontis, 29-30, figs. 22-4, cat. 1.

46 Salah Mohamed Ahmed & Anderson 2005: 21-2, figs. 14, 16.

38 Turin: Donadoni-Roveri [1991]: fig. on p. 15. Brooklyn: Riefstahl 1968: 109, no. 70, 71; Bologna: Yoyotte 1972: 216 no. 1.

39 Bonnet et al. 2000; Bonnet 2007: 192-8.



## Building activities of Amanakhareqerema at Jebel Barkal? – Temple Complex Barkal 560-561

The recently discovered temple complex Barkal 560-561 is situated in front of and perpendicular to the great Amun temple B 500.<sup>47</sup> The processional kiosk B 560 is of a rather complex form: an inner building of sandstone columns with parapet walls and entrances in the NE and SW is surrounded by a second colonnade of 16 columns topped by architraves. Scenes in low relief are carved inside the kiosk. An architrave from the kiosk bears part of a cartouche in Egyptian hieroglyphs. Preserved is the end with three hieroglyphs (... *k3 r m*) followed by an *ankh*-sign. This is interpreted by the excavators as being part of the name of king Amanakhareqerema written in Egyptian, a reading confirmed now by C. Rilly.<sup>48</sup>

The kiosk lies in front of a small temple B 561 built of brick with stone elements. The layout of the temple resembles smaller temples of multi-room type with two transverse halls, the first one with two columns. A freestanding sanctuary was built in the back area; additional walls later subdivided the space into several rooms. Relief decoration in carved and raised relief seems to originate from different periods. The reliefs of the sanctuary which give the impression of being a *mammisi* are perhaps the oldest. Decoration on other parts (columns, door jambs, loose blocks) appear to be of Meroitic date; in style and topic they are familiar from Meroitic temple decoration like for example in Naga 100.<sup>49</sup> The relief scenes of temple and kiosk do not match thematically. The excavators consider that B 561 was erected in the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> century BC; the kiosk would have been added in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. The complex was used until at least the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.

### 1.7 Renovation of Barkal 700 by Amanakhareqerema?

In 1918 it was assumed by G. A. Reisner, reporting about the excavation of the Harvard-Boston-Expedition at Jebel Barkal in 1916, that a king Nebmaatre was perhaps responsible for the Meroitic renovation of temple Barkal 700 and the neighbouring Barkal 600.<sup>50</sup> In referring to the omphalos of Jebel Barkal it becomes clear that Reisner with this king Neb-

maatre meant no other than Amanakhareqerema.<sup>51</sup> He himself felt inclined to this assumption because of a faceless statue wearing the White Crown of Amenhotep III Nebmaatre of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty found inside the Meroitic sanctuary B 704 (MFA 23.734).<sup>52</sup> Reisner quotes:

*“Curiously enough, there is evidence of the activity of a Meroitic king whose  $\overline{\text{Neb}}$ -name was also Neb-ma‘et-rē’. He had a small shrine in the form of an omphalos ... which was placed in the temple of Amūn (B. 500); it may well have been this king who restored B. 700 and B. 600. If the restoration took place in or near his time, it is possible that the statuette of Amenophis III, on which only the  $\overline{\text{Neb}}$ -name remained, was mistaken for a statuette of this Meroitic king produced by magic. On the other hand, the act of placing the chance-found statuette in the sanctuary may have been dictated by simple piety.”*

Temple Barkal 700, lying close to the rock of Jebel Barkal, was entered through the pylon which is followed by two rooms (B 702, B 703), each with four columns.<sup>53</sup> The temple was begun by Atlanersa and finished by his successor Senkamanisken in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. The decoration, already partly finished in room B 702 and accomplished in room B 703,<sup>54</sup> was completed after the death of Atlanersa by his successor whose name is found on columns and wall parts in B 702 and on the pylon front. There, Senkamanisken is shown triumphing over enemies while being awarded a sickle-sword by Amun-Re saying “I gave you a scimitar on the day of

51 That Nebmaatre is also the throne name of Amanitenmouide was not taken into consideration.

52 Reisner 1918: 102-3, pl. 13; Dunham 1970: 17, fig. 5, pls. 5, 6; Kozloff et al. 1992: 131, fig. V.13; cf. <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/statue-of-amenhotep-iii-46189>, accessed 13.02.2018. The statue’s origin is disputed, either deriving from a building of Amenhotep III at Barkal (Török 2002: 158 with n. 530, 168) or being transferred from Soleb (so Bryan: in Kozloff et al. 1992: 131; Kendall, El-Hassan et al. 2017: 168). Building activities of Amenhotep III, however, are not documented at Barkal (Kendall, El-Hassan et al. 2017: 167-9). Two of the royal names on MFA 23.734 that were erased in the Amarna period (basis, back slab) were restored to Nebmaatre with the result that the throne name occurs in both cartouches. Is this a restoration of the post-Amarna-period or made by the Meroite Amanakhareqerema?

53 PM VII: 213-5; Reisner 1918: 101-12, pls. 10-17; Ali Hakem 1988: 69-72; Török 2002: 157-72, pl. XI; Kendall 2014: 675-8, 683-4; Kendall & El-Hassan 2016: 94-103.

In temple B 600, mentioned in Reisner’s citation, no definite signs of an involvement of Amanakhareqerema have been found. B 600 is considered a temple for royal cult or throne pavilion: Kendall & Wolf 2011; Kendall, El-Hassan et al. 2017: 166-7; cf. also Kuckertz 2016: 278.

54 Reisner 1918: 106, 108-9.

47 Kendall & El-Hassan 2015; 2016: 82-9.

48 Kendall & El-Hassan 2015: 13-4, fig. 17; 2016: 87, fig. 12; Rilly 2017: 290.

49 Similarly Rilly 2017: 275.

50 Reisner 1918: 103.



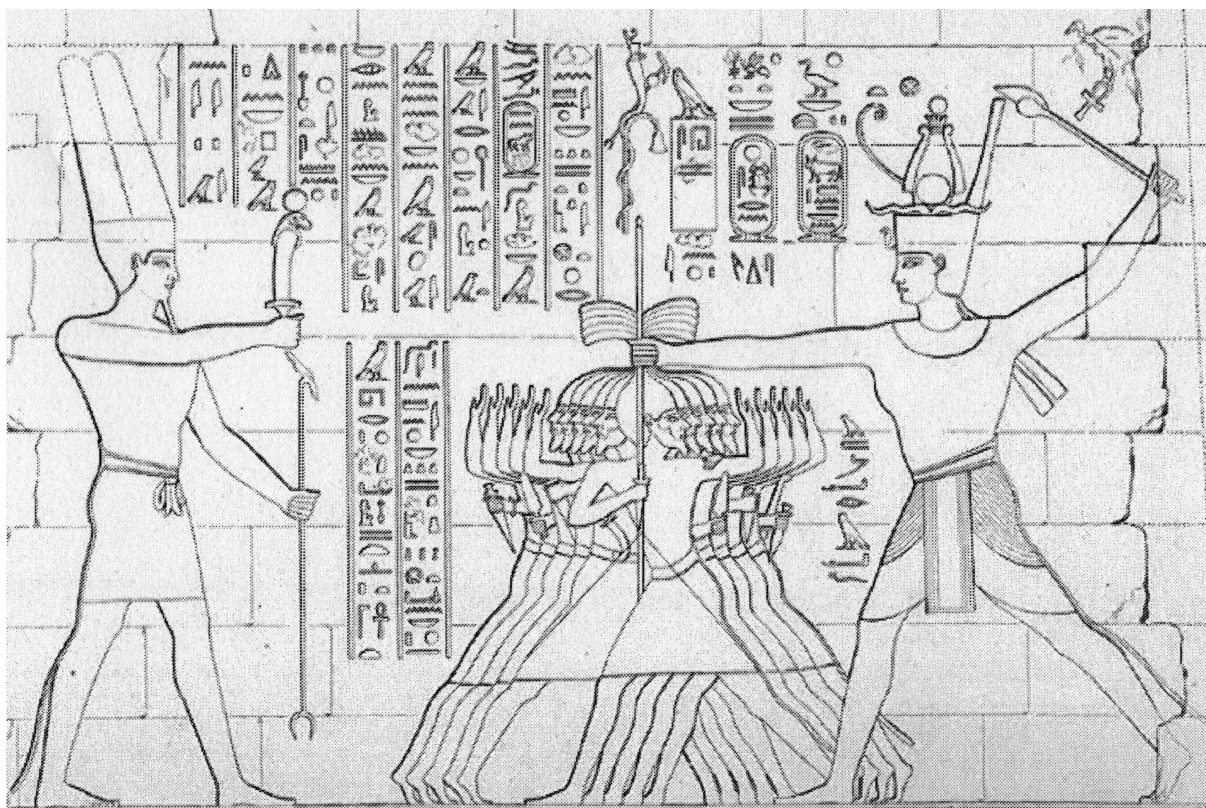


Fig. 6: Right pylon of Barkal 700, Senkamanisken (after Cailliaud 1923: pl. 61).

battle“ (fig. 6). Today, the pylon is nearly destroyed, the relief decoration is only known through travellers’ accounts of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>55</sup> The decoration in the interior of the Napatan temple includes, on the south wall (back wall of pylon), a procession of royal women shaking sistrum, as well as an offering altar and the depiction of the recumbent crio-sphinx with the large sun disk of Amun of Pnubs in front of the Horus-name of Atlanersa.<sup>56</sup> Scenes of bark processions are supposed on both adjoining side walls of B 702: Kendall noted remains of a scene of a bark being carried on one wall and a loose block showing the prow with a kneeling king, overcut by the representation of two camels.<sup>57</sup> Other scenes in room B 703 (the king leaving the palace, purification) possibly relate to coronation rituals.<sup>58</sup> A hymn dedicated to Osiris-Dedwen and scene inscriptions were preserved on loose blocks presumably from the rear wall of B 703.<sup>59</sup> Fragments of a false door were equally recorded.

The original furnishings of B 700 comprise the granite bark stand of Atlanersa in room B 703 onto

which Senkamanisken added a short inscription (MFA 23.728).<sup>60</sup> Fragments of a black granite obelisk of Senkamanisken were unearthed in B 702 near the entrance (MFA 20.5434).<sup>61</sup> An unfinished colossal statue of Tombos granite was found below the Meroitic portico. It depicts a king in *shendjt*-kilt wearing the Double Crown with two uraei (Khartoum SNM 5209).<sup>62</sup> The statue, usually identified as one of the builders of B 700, may have belonged to a pair that should have been erected in front of the temple. It remains open whether the unfinished statue in the quarry at Tombos is the companion statue.<sup>63</sup>

Not entirely clear is the purpose of B 700 and the god venerated in it. Considered as a station for the bark procession of Amun-Re departing from B 500, it is either dedicated to Amun of Pnubs<sup>64</sup> or to a number of Amun deities, in the main to Amun of Napata and Amun of Thebes, but also to Amun of Kawa, of Sanam and of Pnubs.<sup>65</sup> The veneration of

55 Cailliaud 1923: pl. 61; Macadam 1946: pls. X, IXb); on the travellers cf. Griffith 1929: 26.

56 Griffith 1929: 26-8, pl. V; Macadam 1946: 62-3.

57 Kendall 1986: 20.

58 Reisner 1918: 106, pl. 15 upper; Török 2002: 170-1.

59 Priese 2005; false door: Kendall 2014: 676.

60 PM VII: 214-5; Dunham 1970: 32, pls. 30-31.

61 PM VII: 214; FHN I: 213-4 no. 32, see <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/obelisk-of-senkamanisken-480386>, accessed 10.11.2016.

62 PM VII: 214; Kendall 2014: 675-6, 683-4, pl. 15b.

63 Török 2002: 160; Reisner 1918: 109; Kendall 2014: 683; Kendall & El-Hassan 2016: 102, figs. 11-12.

64 Török 2002: 166-71.

65 Kendall 2014: 676-7.





Osiris is likewise assumed and the temple interpreted as serving for the memory of the deceased Atlanersa, as well as for all other dead kings. Regenerative aspects as well as a funerary character seem therefore attributed to the temple. The coronation scenes in B 703 point to a decidedly royal focus, the confirmation – and constant re-affirmation – of rulership and its divine consent.

#### *Meroitic B 700*

Possibly a rock fall from the cliff destroyed the rear part of the temple and tore down parts of room B 703. The east and south walls of B 703 were reconstructed without re-carving the relief decoration; the original relief of the Napatan temple has remained on the west and north walls.<sup>66</sup> A small rectangular sanctuary (B 704) was added in the midst of the temple's back wall, built of crude masonry and with at least two re-used blocks of the Napatan temple.<sup>67</sup> Room B 704 might have replaced an earlier shrine in room B 703.<sup>68</sup> At the pylon-entrance a portico (B 701) was added. The exact date of these restoration works is not known; a date in Meroitic times is assumed; Natakamani and Amanitore are also brought into the discussion.<sup>69</sup> A further rock fall of unknown date<sup>70</sup> buried entirely the rear part of the temple including the small sanctuary B 704 and probably ended the usage of the temple. The boulders preserved the sanctuary's condition as it had been shortly before its destruction. Inside B 704<sup>71</sup> a small uninscribed granite bark stand was standing, beside it on the right a Meroitic ram-headed statue of Amun in black granite (Khartoum SNM 1844). A large (75 % life-size, not identified) standing figure made of sandstone of Meroitic date stood facing the door in front of the bark stand and to its right the statuette of Amenhotep III described above. A seated royal statuette of

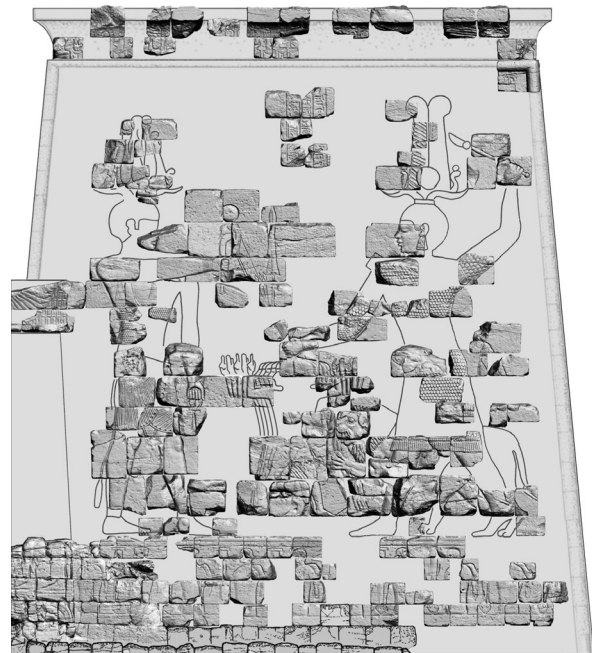


Fig. 7: Reconstruction of the western pylon of Naga 200, © Naga Project.

Meroitic date likewise comes from B 704. Further finds in B 704 consist of several other statuettes, inter alia of baboons and human figures of Meroitic date and earlier, two ram-head amulets of green faience, twelve bronze Osiris-figures, as well as glass inlays and faience cylinders presumably from columns of a small shrine, wooden fragments and bronze rivets of it or of a small box.

#### *Pylon of Senkamanisken*

Although it is tempting to connect the statue of Amenhotep III with a Meroitic king Nebmaatere, there is no definite proof of it. New Kingdom statuary and objects were clearly available from the older ruins at Jebel Barkal and could have been obtained to bring them into new religious buildings. So, as Reisner had already remarked, the statue of Amenhotep III might have been deposited in the sanctuary out of mere piety. It must not necessarily be connected with building measures and renovations.

There are, however, other arguments which connect Amanakhareqerema to B 700. The pylon decoration of his temple Naga 200 uses a scheme of the prisoners' group slain by the king which is also documented on the pylon of B 700 (fig. 7).<sup>72</sup> The scheme of two groups of five men running to the

66 Reisner 1918: 106, pl. 15.

67 Reisner 1918: 101-3, 106, pls. 10, 13, 16.

68 Török 2002: 166, 168.

69 Kendall 2014: 678.

70 Either in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Kendall 2014: 678) or in the 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (<http://www.jebelbarkal.org/frames/B700.pdf>, accessed 09.11.2016).

71 For finds in B 700 (all periods) cf. Reisner 1918: 101-2; Dunham 1970: 69, figs. 46-7 with pls; PM VII: 215. In the online data-base of the MFA are listed 199 items coming from Barkal 700 including eight from B 701, eight from B 702, 13 from B 703 and 48 from B 704, cf. <http://www.mfa.org/collections/search>, accessed 09.11.2016. The number of objects in Khartoum is unknown. Statue SNM 1844: Welsby & Anderson 2004: 164, cat. 147; Kormysheva 2006: 147-8, cat. 132; Meroitic seated statue: Dunham 1970: 69, pl. 57.E; Kendall, in: Welsby & Anderson 2004: 147.

72 The reconstruction of the relief of Naga 200 was made with the 3D-scans of Trigon Art, T. Bauer, M. Praus and S. Rackel.



Fig. 8: Scimitar at the western pylon of Naga 200, © Naga Project.

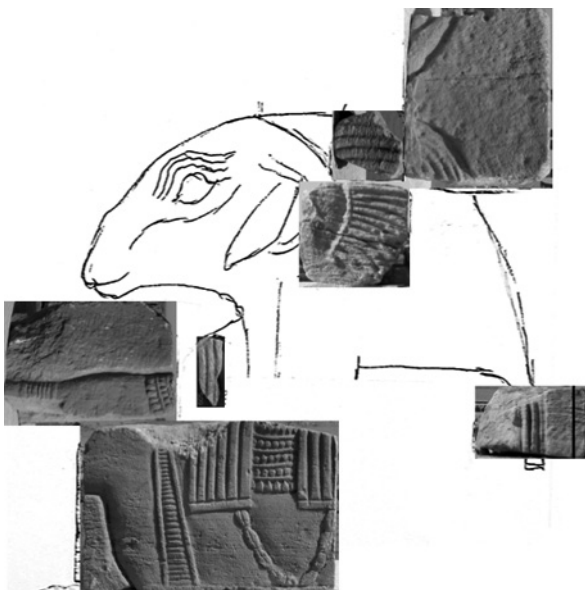


Fig. 9: Ram-headed Amun on the eastern pylon of Naga 200, © Naga Project.

outsides while held together at the hair is known in Egypt since the Old Kingdom.<sup>73</sup> On Kushite monuments in Egypt and in Kush it is familiar from several instances. The pylon of B 700, decorated by Senkamanisken (see above fig. 4), is the last (known) document before it reappears c. 400 years later at Naga 200.

Another detail may likewise point to Amanakhareqerema's engagement at B 700. The sickle-sword on the right pylon of B 700 is decorated with a ram's head with sun disk. It represents a sword covered by a scabbard or hull. On the western pylon of temple Naga 200 the sickle-sword bears a hull with falcon-head crowned by a sun disk (fig. 8), but the now lost upper part of the scimitar on the eastern pylon might expectedly also have been covered,

most probably by a ram-headed sheath as here the ram-headed Amun donates the sickle-sword to the king (fig. 9).

Admittedly, such features of decorated sword covers occur on several monuments in Kush, so for example on the shrine of Aspelta in Kawa or on the stele of Taneyidamani (Boston MFA 23.736).<sup>74</sup> The assumption that Amanakhareqerema saw or ordered to copy the pylon of B 700 is possible, but not compelling. The template could have been found in model books or in other temples. The same scheme of prisoners is for example found with Taharqo's temple T at Kawa where, however, it was altered in presenting not two groups of five prisoners but two groups of only three captives.<sup>75</sup>

If the theory that Amanakhareqerema renovated Barkal 700 proves right, what then motivated and intended his engagement? Did the destruction occur in his time? Was it mere piety to renovate the temple which seemingly played an important role in the sacred area of Jebel Barkal? As the temple was highly significant for the royal cult, its renovation and restitution of its function would seem to have been a necessity. Or did the political profile of Senkamanisken perhaps foster the measures taken at the temple?

Senkamanisken was the successor of Atlanersa who himself possibly succeeded Tanutamani, the last king reigning in Egypt (664-655/53 BC in Egypt). After the advent of the 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty Tanutamani left the country and continued his reign for an unknown period in Nubia.<sup>76</sup>

On the front face of the right pylon of B 700 eight lines of a text are written which are found on a sandstone stele usually ascribed to Pi(ankh)y (Khartoum SNM 1851).<sup>77</sup> The stele in 1920 had been found face down in the first court B 501 of the main Amun temple where it seems to have been installed on a stone socket near the granite stele of Thutmose III (MFA 23.733). The sandstone stele originally perhaps was erected in front of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pylon.<sup>78</sup> The lunette

73 Kuckertz 2012: 20; forthcoming: chap. IV.1.1.3.

74 See Kuckertz forthcoming: chap. V.4.1.1.f. Aspelta: Macadam 1955: 89, pls. 18.a, 51.b; Taneyidamani: Dunham 1970: pl. 39.

75 Macadam 1955: 69, pls. 11, 47.

76 On all three kings FHN I: 191-214, nos. 28-32.

77 Often only referred to as SSS = Sandstone Stele: Reisner 1931: 82 no. 26, 88-100, pls. 5-6; FHN I: 55-62 no. 8; Török 1997a: 153-5; Welsby & Anderson 2004: 162-3, cat. 146; Jansen-Winkel 2007: 350-1; Ritner 2009: 461-4; Lohwasser forthcoming. Many thanks to Angelika Lohwasser who sent me in advance the article on her lecture at the 12<sup>th</sup> International Conference for Meroitic Studies in Prague 2016.

78 Reisner 1931: 90.



shows, in high relief, the enthroned ram-headed Amun, accompanied by Mut and Khonsu. He presents the Red Crown and a Cap Crown with uraeus to a very lightly engraved royal figure (added over the place of an erased effigy) identified by inscription as Pi(ankhy) who is offering pectoral and necklace. Doubts concerning the stele's original author being Pi(ankhy) are discussed by A. Lohwasser.

The text of the first seven lines and part of line eight, i.e. the speech of Amun, of stele Khartoum SNM 1851 is nearly identical with the text before the face of the human-headed Amun-Re on the pylon of B 700 including the cartouche of Senkamanisken.<sup>79</sup> The relevant text of stele SNM 1851 reads (quoted after Reisner):

- “(1) *Speech of Amon, Lord of Nesuwt-tauwy, he who appoints and is pure, to*  
 (2) *his son, his beloved, [name in cartouche], I said concerning you (while you were) in*  
 (3) *the body of your mother, that you were to be ruler of Egypt (km).*  
 (4) *I knew you in the seed while you were*  
 (5) *in the egg, that you were to be*  
 (6) *Lord. I caused you to receive the double diadem (wr-t determined with two uraei), which Ra caused to appear*  
 (7) *in the first good time. A father makes*  
 (8) *excellent his son (provides for his son). I am he who has decreed (the king-ship) to you. Who shall share it with you?”*

The text passage of Khartoum SNM 1851 and on the pylon refers to the king's divine son-ship; he is already predestined to be ruler before being born. His coronation and the legitimacy to rule are addressed which he receives through Amun. Even if the stele was not originally made by Pi(ankhy) he nevertheless seems to have re-used it and has written his name on it.

The stele set up in court B 501 clearly was known to Senkamanisken.<sup>80</sup> The (assumed) choice of referring to SNM 1851 instead of Pi(ankhy)'s clearly spectacular triumphal stele of year 21 (Cairo JE 48862)<sup>81</sup> erected in the same court B 501 may be due (1) to the content of the inscription relating to the king's divine son-ship and Amun's support and (2) to the unusual imagery of the stele which is plausible and easy to grasp: the donation of crowns symbolising the divine consent to rulership by Amun, Mut and Khonsu. The image, reflected by the text, though not literally,

expresses immediately and straightforward the most important moment in a king's life – his coronation.

With the inscription on B 700 Senkamanisken seems to refer to the famous king who (pretended having) conquered whole Egypt. The passage of line 3 of Khartoum SNM 1851 pointing to rulership in Egypt is on B 700 not clearly recognisable; the perhaps unskilled ability of Cailliaud to copy the hieroglyphs properly must be taken into consideration. Does the preserved text with its religious and ideological content nevertheless formulate Senkamanisken's aspiration to rulership also over Egypt? He may have fought against Psamtek I in Lower Nubia or had even proceeded to Lower Egypt, having thus formulated his claim on Egypt; such is discussed with reference to an offering table fragment with the name of Senkamanisken found in Memphis (JE 41293)<sup>82</sup>. Amun's presentation of a sickle-sword on the pylon of B 700, mentioned also in the text on the obelisk of Senkamanisken found in B 702 (MFA 20.5434), equally are regarded as hints to a real conflict for which Amun-Re gives divine support. The Kushite kings' claim on Egypt was not given up at least until up to Aspelta who was engaged in 593 BC in a war with Psamtek II.<sup>83</sup>

Senkamanisken is further documented at Jebel Barkal by an inscribed granite block ('altar?', door-jamb? bark stand?) in B 800<sup>84</sup>, by monuments in B 500: two sphinxes in B 501<sup>85</sup>, an obelisk- or statue-fragment (?) in B 520<sup>86</sup> and by three large statues and one of his mother (?) Amanimalel found in caches in B 500 and B 904.<sup>87</sup> Two further deposits of statues including those of Senkamanisken were found at Doukki Gel and Dangeil.<sup>88</sup> A temple, partly rock cut, in the vicinity of Jebel Barkal is noted by Reisner and ascribed to Senkamanisken.<sup>89</sup>

79 Cf. Reisner 1931: 91-2.

80 Perhaps already by Atlanersa, the prime builder of B 700, who may have had influence on the decoration of the pylon.

81 FHN I: 62-118, no. 9.

82 PM III 22: 875. See Zibelius-Chen 2011: 92, 205; Török 2015: 42-3.

83 Sauneron & Yoyotte 1952; Kuckertz 2016: 281-3; Jansen-Winkel 2016.

84 Berlin ÄM 1481: Reisner 1920: 253; LD V: 15a.

85 I.a. Khartoum SNM 1852: Dunham 1970: 33, pls. 4, 32; Welsby & Anderson 2004: 161, cat. 144.

86 16-4-263a, MFA Boston: Reisner 1920: 256 [h]; Dunham 1970: 91, fig. 56.

87 Dunham 1970: 21, pls. 12-16.

88 Doukki Gel: Bonnet & Valbelle 2006; Dangeil: Anderson & Salah Mohamed Ahmed 2014; references on all caches in: Kuckertz 2016: 279-80 with n. 51-54.

89 Reisner 1920: 253, east bank 'between Merawi and Barkal'; 1931: 78, \*22, 'at Merawe ("east" bank)'. I was not able to localise this spot. There may have been some confusion with other find spots of Senkamanisken.



Activities (buildings and votives) of Senkamanisken are documented also in the temple and in the so-called treasury at Sanam<sup>90</sup> and in Meroe.

The gradual integration of the island of Meroe<sup>91</sup> into the Kushite realm received a certain impact in Senkamanisken's time. His name and that of his wife Nasalsa are the most ancient ones known from votive faience objects (sistrum fragment, cartouche plaque, handle) found in a pit in the Royal Enclosure at Meroe.<sup>92</sup> The spot with the 'rubbish' pit (or cachette) below Meroe 294 containing a number of discarded votive objects of faience and bronze is identified as belonging to an early Amun temple in the area situated under the later buildings M 294/293 and palace M 295.<sup>93</sup> This identification, however, is not unanimously accepted.<sup>94</sup> A second spot, which is held to belong to the early Amun temple as well, is a foundation (?) deposit below a wall. Being more probably a hoard it contained two pots filled with jewellery items.<sup>95</sup> The temple building later was enlarged by Aspelta and renovated by Malonaqen and other kings (Amaninatakilebte, Talakhamani) as inscribed blocks from the area may reveal.<sup>96</sup> The objects of the pit and the 'foundation' deposit bearing royal names (besides Senkamanisken also Aspelta, Aramatelqo, Malonaqen, Karkamani, Amaniastabarqo and Siaspiqo) are partially related to New Year's rites, a festival connected with the confirmation of royal power.<sup>97</sup>

Senkamanisken, according to the votives, recognised the local deity and the importance of the town. Whether he was involved in the erection of the building itself remains unknown.<sup>98</sup> The objects from the Royal Enclosure, irrespective of the type of building from which they come (temple or perhaps a palace), document that Senkamanisken's engagement was a major step in finally integrating the southern areas and their ruling families into the Empire. To Senkamanisken's influence in the south may likewise be added the above mentioned erection of a statue at an

early temple in Dangeil lying above the 5th cataract and only c. 120 km north of Meroe. How long he reigned is not known. He was buried in Nuri in tomb Nu 3 that yielded i.a. an enormous mass of shabtis.<sup>99</sup>

The suggestions made above may seem purely hypothetical, but in my opinion the possibility that Amanakhareqerema was involved in the renovation of B 700 cannot be ruled out entirely.

If indeed Senkamanisken was one of the main figures in integrating the southern regions more closely into the Kushite Empire, then the Meroitic king's presumed referring to him seems not unjustified. That the religious centre Napata was in the focus of Amanakhareqerema is at least revealed by the dome-shaped naos MFA 21.3234 from the Amun temple B 500 and by his possible involvement in the temple compound B 560-561.

## 2. AMANAKHAREQEREMA AND THE HISTORICAL SETTING

The finding of the omphalos in 1916 at Jebel Barkal – after the Soba ram known since 1821 the second object discovered of this king – enhanced the discussion concerning the chronological position of king Amanakhareqerema and the reading of his name. The older discussions were always connected with the tentative attribution of a tomb in the royal cemeteries of Kush.

### 2.1 Chronological position

Up to the discovery of the circular stone Khartoum SNM 34547 at Naga the chronological position of Amanakhareqerema was variously discussed, but most scholars agreed on his place in the middle or the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>100</sup> C. Rilly's research on the palaeography of the cursive Meroitic inscription on the circular stone made it plausible that Amanakhareqerema is to be dated to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (see above). He must be a close successor of Natakamani or perhaps of Sorakarora. That Sorakarora succeeded Natakamani, however, is not unanimously accepted.<sup>101</sup>

90 Temple: PM VII: 199, 202; treasury: sealings, Vincentelli 2011.

91 Cf. Pope 2014: chap. II; Török 2015: 41-4.

92 Török 1997b: 154, 156-7, 237-8, figs. 119, 120, 123, pls. 117, 118.

93 Török 1997b: 25-30.

94 Cf. Hinkel & Sievertsen 2002: 34-6, 113; Lohwasser 2014: 232; cf. Pope 2014: 24-31.

95 Török 1997b: 153-4, 160-1. Considered as hoard: Hinkel & Sievertsen 2002: 112.

96 Yellin 2004; Pope 2014: 30.

97 Török 1997b: 26-8; Lohwasser 2014.

98 Neither the provenance of a block from M 295 nor the name, reconstructed to S[enkamanisken], is assured, cf. Hinkel & Sievertsen 2002: 116.

99 Dunham 1955: 41-7. A silver feeding cup with his name was found in tomb Nu 8 of his son and successor Aspelta (Dunham 1955: 80, fig. 55, pl. 89.D).

100 Hintze 1959: 33: AD 165-84; Hofmann 1978: 160: middle of 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD; Wenig 1978: 17: AD 190-200; Török 1997a: 206: second half of 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.

101 Cf. Hofmann 1978: 126-128; Rilly 2017: 283.



## 2.2 Names

The Meroitic name of the king was not immediately recognised. The name written in Meroitic hieroglyphs in the right cartouche on the omphalos MFA 21.3234 was read by F. Ll. Griffith as „*Mnhnêwêl(?)* Amani-khanêwêl(?)“.<sup>102</sup> He also stressed the notion that it belonged to a second king Nebmaatre who existed besides the tomb owner of Beg N 17, Amanitenmomide, with the same throne name. In discussing the different types of royal tombs and their structural elements, which he used as dating criteria, G. A. Reisner had attributed the tomb Beg N 18 to king (sic!) Amanikhanêwêl Nebmaatre II.<sup>103</sup> At that time the tomb owner of Beg N 18 was regarded as male.<sup>104</sup> That the tomb belonged to a female ruler was only later recognised because of the deceased's vulture-cap, worn by women only.<sup>105</sup>

D. Dunham's (cited in: Steindorff) reading of the name on the omphalos was „*Mani-Hanaqermē* or (*Mani-*) *Hataqermē*“. In his opinion the name in the cartouche could best be brought into accord with the hieroglyphic royal name in the chapel of Lepsius' pyramid 39, that is Beg N 18. In 1938 G. Steindorff dealt anew with the omphalos and the cartouche in Meroitic hieroglyphs; he confirms Dunham's reading in which he was followed by other authors. The 'correct' Meroitic name Amanikhareqerem (Amanakhareqerema) was established with the finding of a ram-figure at El Hassa in 1975 and the discovery that it was closely related to the Soba ram and the name written on it.<sup>106</sup>

The appellation Amanikhareqerem/Amanakhareqerema is like most of the Meroitic royal names combined with the name of Amun (*amni* Amani) which would result in segmenting it into Amanikhareqerem. A first explanation to its meaning is given by A. Orlando who translates it as „*Amun's great issue*“.<sup>107</sup> C. Rilly has not yet found a con-

vincing explanation what the significance of the name might be.<sup>108</sup> He doubts that the theonym Amani is contained in the name but suggests instead a divine name or hypostasis of Amun called \*(A)manakh/\*(A)manakha;<sup>109</sup> the name thus would be segmented into Amanakha-areqerema. His reading Amanakhareqerema is followed here.

Amanakhareqerema's throne name Nebmaatre is that of the famous Egyptian king Amenhotep III.<sup>110</sup> It is likewise borne by the Meroitic king Amanitenmomide buried in Beg N 17. Amanakhareqerema may have borrowed it from him if he had been his successor; the sequence of both kings, however, is not entirely sure (see below). Many of the Napatan and Meroitic kings adopted names that were borne by earlier Egyptian pharaohs or by renowned predecessors.<sup>111</sup> The names of Egyptian as well as Kushite rulers are generally expressing certain ideological or programmatic topics. In view of the supposed difficulties of Amanakhareqerema's ascendance to the throne or the maintenance of his kingship,<sup>112</sup> the adoption of a name that had recourse to the Egyptian goddess Maat or its ethical notions of truth, righteousness, etc., might not be accidental but, quite to the contrary, be programmatic in stressing his claim to the throne as justified and rightful. Even if we do not know much about a concept of Maat in the Meroitic period, perceptions of worldly and divine order or ethical-political principles seem nevertheless present in Meroitic kingship without which a political entity would not have existed, survived and maintained its power for long.<sup>113</sup> For a discussion to what degree and why Amanakhareqerema perhaps refers to Amenhotep III see below.

## 2.3 Family

Nothing is known of the family relationship and the descent of Amanakhareqerema. Curiously F. Breyer speaks – without giving a reference – of Manakhadoke as his mother.<sup>114</sup> Manakhadoke,

102 Griffith 1916: 255.

103 Reisner 1923: 50, 76; also *Amankhenerel*. Certainly erroneous is Reisner's (1931: 79, 83) citation of king Amankhanêwêl with throne name Menma'atra II, an error that is repeated by S. Wenig (1964 [2015]) in his dissertation.

104 Cf. Budge 1907 I: 407-8; Griffith 1912: 74; PM VII: 251.

105 Already remarked by Lepsius (LD V text: 319). Dunham (1957: 146) noted the rather slender appearance of the enthroned figure and raised some doubts concerning the depiction of a queen.

106 Shinnie & Bradley 1977: 30; Wenig 1978: 210. The reading of the Meroitic name on the omphalos as that of Amanikhabale (i.a. PM VII: 222-3; Macadam 1955: 51 n. 2; Hofmann 1970: 190; 1978: 106-7; Leclant et al. 2000: 1382-3) has to be abandoned (Rilly 2001: 72 n. 3).

107 Orlando 2003: 86.

108 Personal communication during a lecture 2016 in Berlin. In a recent book Rilly (2017: 287) proposes that the name Amanakh-are-qerema could perhaps signify "Amanakh, tu es noir".

109 Rilly 2001: 71 n. 1; 2017: 287.

110 The throne-name Nebmaatre is also borne by two other Egyptian kings, an ephemeral king of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Intermediate Period and Ramesses VI (Nebmaatre-*mrj-Jmn*), cf. von Beckerath 1999: 118-9 and 170-1.

111 Cf. Török 1997a: 198-215.

112 See Kuckertz forthcoming: chap. XII.

113 Cf. Kuckertz forthcoming: chap. IX.1.8.

114 Breyer 2014: 301.

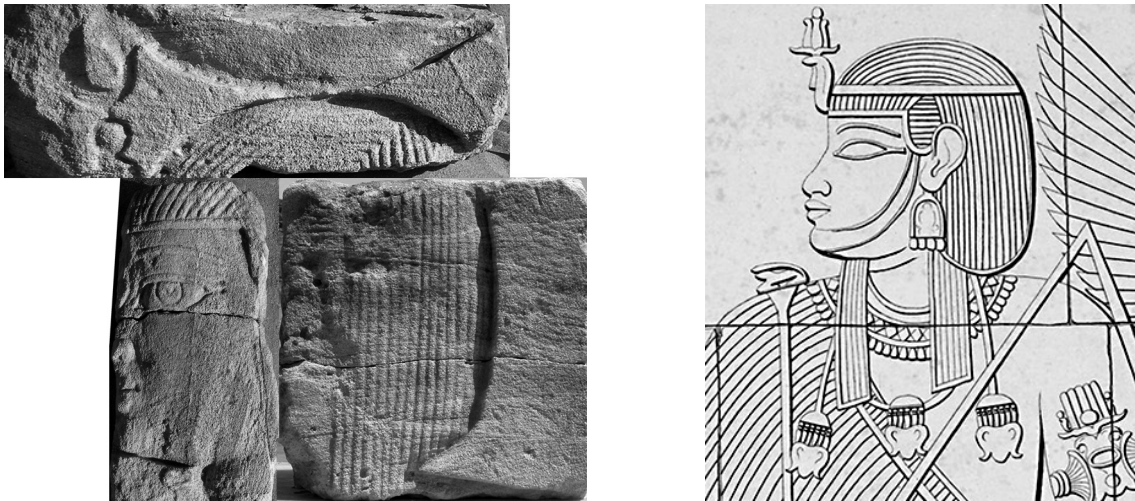


Fig. 10: Left: Wig of the deity on the narrow side of the western pylon of Naga 200, © Naga Project. Right: Wig of Amanitenmomide, Beg N 17, south wall (after LD V: 51a, © Archiv ÄMP).

however, is the mother of Amanitaraqide to whom belongs the offering table REM 0816 found in a tomb chamber of Beg N 16 (see below). Amanakhareqerema's focusing on ideological topics in Naga 200, however, indicates perhaps a break with the former ruler's clan whoever it may have been.

#### 2.4 In search for a burial

Up to now no definite burial place for Nebmaatre Amanakhareqerema has been discovered. Several proposals have been made in the past that were closely related to the then supposed date of his reign in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. According to the revised date of Amanakhareqerema in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half or the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD it is clear that only tombs can be considered that were built around that date.

#### *Amanakhareqerema and Amanitenmomide*

Several features in Amanakhareqerema's documents, especially his temple Naga 200, establish a close relationship with king Amanitenmomide. It is not only the throne name Nebmaatre that both kings have in common. Iconographical connections can be made with the headgear of Amanitenmomide in his tomb chapel Beg N 17 which appears in similar design with the deities on the outer narrow sides of the pylon towers of Naga 200 (fig. 10).<sup>115</sup>

Closer similarities exist with the dress and the Double Crown which Amanitenmomide wears on the north wall of his chapel (fig. 11).<sup>116</sup> Especially

the pointed kilt decorated with a falcon image and with a feline head projecting from its tip is revealing. Amanakhareqerema wears it several times at Temple 200 (fig. 12).<sup>117</sup> Such a feline head was likewise originally attached to Amanitenmomide's kilt.<sup>118</sup> Other items like the earrings, sandals or the girdle-décor may equally be noticed, but are characteristic of a larger group of monuments. The type of wooden offering stand on the north and south walls of Beg N 17 may also be a hint to connect both kings.<sup>119</sup>

King Nebmaatre Amanitenmomide is known by a Meroitic inscription at Jebel Barkal and by his tomb Beg N 17 which is situated on the slope east of the primary row of tombs on the main ridge of the Northern Royal Cemetery.<sup>120</sup> The rather steep pyramid (type VIIb), of which only the lower part is preserved, is the last pyramid exhibiting stepped courses. The two burial chambers beneath the pyramid contained only few items which have led to the assumption that the king ruled only a short time. But a thieves' shaft indicates that the subterranean rooms were robbed. The remains of a male skeleton found with remnants of two females in the burial chamber are that of a rather young man of 30 years. Unknown is, however, whether it is the tomb owner's, a retainer burial or stems from later re-use of the tomb. The chapel remains,<sup>121</sup> built over the unexcavated entrance passage, have been partly removed to European museums. Lepsius in 1844 took a part

#### V.2.1.3.

117 Kuckertz 2011: 80-1, figs. 91, 93.

118 Cf. the traces in Blumenthal 1978: pl. IIa.

119 See Kuckertz forthcoming: chap. IV.2.2.

120 PM VII: 250; Dunham 1957: 142-5, figs. 93-94, numerous plates. Pyramid type VIIb: Hinkel 1984: 324, 327.

121 LD V: 50d, 51a-b; Chapman & Dunham 1952: pl. 21A-C.

115 See Kuckertz forthcoming: chap. V.2.2.6.

116 See Kuckertz forthcoming: chap. V.1.1.2.a [type 2],



Fig. 11. Amanitenmomide, Beg N 17, north wall (after LD V: 51c, © Archiv ÄMP).

of the right side of the south wall (Berlin ÄM 2161) and the right side of the west wall (Berlin ÄM 2160) to Berlin.<sup>122</sup> The left side of the west wall in 1905 was brought to London by E.A.W. Budge (British Museum EA 68987-68991).<sup>123</sup> The north wall (Leipzig 1688) and five blocks of the south wall (Leipzig 1690-1694) were since 1907 in Leipzig but are now lost due to a bombing attack during World War II.<sup>124</sup> Besides the fumigation scene of the enshrined

122 Berlin ÄM 2161, see Zach 2009: fig. 1.

123 Davies 1991; see [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online), accessed 06.07.2015. D. Welsby (2003: 287) records the year 1904.

124 North wall: Blumenthal 1978: pl. III; south wall: Blumenthal 1978: fig. 2. The blocks of Beg N 17 together with a part of the south wall of Beg N 19 of king Tarekeniwal had been chosen by G. Steindorff in exchange for the desired Uronarti-stele of Sesostris III (Khartoum SNM 451, PM VII: 143, found by Steindorff in 1900); to this Blumenthal 1978: 85-87.

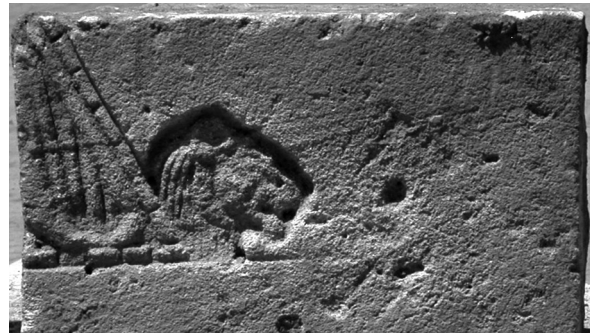


Fig. 12: Kilt with lion-head at tip, Naga 200, block 1254, © Naga Project.

Amanitenmomide by his heir, offering processions and rows of animals on the south, north and east walls two other scenes are remarkable: The Driving of the four calves in front of Osiris on the north wall is a remnant of an earlier type of decoration.<sup>125</sup> The second scene (west wall) consists of the specific ritual of pouring a milk libation on an offering table by Anubis and Nephthys (on this scene see below, note 147).

A cursive inscription on plaster (REM 1138) adhering to the inner thickness of the right (north) jamb at the 2<sup>nd</sup> pylon of the Amun temple B 500 mentions twice the name of king Amanitenmomide in whose time it was presumably applied; a date (year 5) appears at the end of the inscription.<sup>126</sup> The text contains an enumeration of a large number of countable objects probably representing a donation of offerings (?). By this inscription Amanitenmomide is likewise documented as one of the Meroitic kings active at Jebel Barkal. If a king Nebmaatre was responsible for renovating B 700 (see above), Amanitenmomide, like his namesake Amanakhareqerema, cannot be left out for this venture anyway.

Amanitenmomide currently is usually dated in the beginning or first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. Especially two imported amphorae from Beg N 17 have underlined this dating.<sup>127</sup> The date range of comparable amphorae, however, goes from the mid-1<sup>st</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>128</sup>

Another time range than presumed for the amphorae of Beg N 17 may nevertheless be possible. The pottery of Beg N 17 was partly included in a study of the pottery from the Western Cemetery at Meroe.

125 Yellin 1990: 363-4, 366.

126 Dunham 1970: 34, 36 fig. 30, pl. 38; Hallof & Hallof 2012.

127 Hofmann 1978: 145; 1991: 235-6 (type 3), 241-2 (type 10).

128 At least for type 10 (Hofmann 1991: 241). Martin-Kilcher (2015: esp. 156, fig. 12.4) dates the amphora type Gauloise 4 (Hofman's type 10) more precisely to the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter-mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.





According to Edward's seriation the pottery of Beg N 17 is to be put between his tomb groups Ib and II. The date range of tomb groups Ia, Ib and II lies between the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>129</sup> Edward's work indicates that an earlier dating of Beg N 17 is more probable than a later date in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. In older chronological treatises Amanitenmomide is indeed put in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>130</sup>

Since C. Rilly's chronological re-assessment of Amanakhareqerema to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD several scholars have proposed that the king should be dated around the reign of Amanitenmomide, considering Amanakhareqerema as his predecessor.<sup>131</sup> But as the dating of Amanitenmomide is perhaps earlier the sequence of both kings may have to be reversed in seeing Amanakhareqerema as a possible successor of Amanitenmomide.

The similarities in the decoration between Beg N 17 and Naga 200 could also speak for the last scenario. Amanakhareqerema as successor was then responsible for the burial of Amanitenmomide and thus also for decorating his tomb chapel for which he perhaps used own themes or iconographic topics. Highly unlikely is, however, that the same workforce was responsible for both undertakings. Relief quality and style of Beg N 17 are somewhat awkward and not as superb as those of Naga 200 while the execution of the construction work at Naga 200 is insufficient and of lesser quality. It is on the other hand likewise possible that the designers of the tomb reliefs copied features of the older temple Naga 200 or relied on models that were utilised at both buildings.

The two rulers Nebmaatre may not have followed one after the other; some other kings may have come in-between. Identifying the burial of Amanakhareqerema thus proves difficult.

#### *Burial in Beg N 16?*

In searching for a burial of Amanakhareqerema the known tombs constructed before and after Beg N 17 have to be consulted. The sequence of royal burials of this time at Begrawiya North is since Reisner's investigations of the architectural features fairly clear in considering a chronological line from Beg N 15, N 16, N 17 to Beg N 18. Only the sequence of tombs

to be put between Beg N 18 and Beg N 19 is treated differently.<sup>132</sup> Hinkel's investigations at the North Cemetery in 1976 have yielded a sequence of Beg N 16 – N 17 – N 18 – N 19 – N 32 – N 34.<sup>133</sup>

In assuming that Amanakhareqerema was a predecessor of Amanitenmomide, then the tombs preceding Beg N 17 have to be considered, i.e. Beg N 15 and N 16. Beg N 15 lying on a small spur at the north-west corner of the main ridge exhibits a rather small pyramid with two subterranean rooms after the entrance stairs, the first with six niches.<sup>134</sup> The pyramid was destroyed in 1903 by Wallis Budge. Lepsius had noted the relief on the west wall showing the king in front of whom Anubis and Nephthys are pouring a libation. A large number of millefiori glass pearls and glass vessel fragments, as well as several bronze bells are the most remarkable finds. The owner of Beg N 15 is unknown, but the tomb is ascribed to various persons, inter alia to a non-ruling man called Pisakar, the father of Amanitaraqide of REM 0816 (see below), or to Sorakarora.<sup>135</sup> Two fragments of an offering table (REM 0073B) said to have been found in Beg N 15 belonged to a non-royal person.<sup>136</sup>

The next tomb in the sequence, Beg N 16<sup>137</sup>, seems indeed an apt candidate for Amanakhareqerema's burial. The tomb structurally precedes Beg N 17 and its unusual pyramid with chamber inside is the result of a later reconstruction of an original pyramid of usual form. The tomb currently is considered as that of Amanitaraqide. The attribution to this person is made on behalf of the younger type of inscription of one of the two offering tables coming from Beg N 16. Intruded in the entrance to the first subterranean chamber A two offering tables with benediction formulae of royal type were found, one naming Amanitaraqide (REM 0816) and another of a later style with the name Aryesebokhe (REM 0815).<sup>138</sup> The later tomb Beg N 36 lying in the vicinity is ascribed to this Aryesebokhe (but see below on a different attribution); the find spot of REM 0815 therefore misleadingly is sometimes given as 'close to Beg N 36'.

132 Cf. Hofmann 1978: 135-6.

133 Hinkel 1984: 327-8.

134 Dunham 1957: 133-136.

135 Cf. Hofmann 1978: 115-6, 127-8.

136 Hofmann 1978: 120, 125; Dunham 1957: pl. 42.G, lower left.

137 PM VII: 250; Dunham 1957: 135-141, figs. 90-92, numerous plates.

138 REM 0816: Dunham 1957: 137, 21-3-574, fig. 91, pl. 40.D; FHN III: 912-3, no. 216; Khartoum SNM 2333. REM 0815: Dunham 1957: 137, 21-3-573, fig. 91, pl. 39.E; FHN III: 914, no. 216a; Boston MFA 21.11789.

129 Edwards 1999: 63, pls. 71-72, figs. 37-38.

130 Reisner 1923: 76: AD 50-75; Dunham 1957: 7: AD 78-93; Hintze 1959: 33: AD 45-62; see also Wenig 1967: 43: AD 50-62; 1978: 17; Welsby 1996: 209; cf. also Hallof & Hallof 2012: 130.

131 Zibelius-Chen 2006: 498; Rilly 2004: 9-10, chap. 4.3; 2011: 198-9; Rondot 2011: 438.



It is not sure that either Amanitaraqide or Aryesbokhe, of whom both nothing further is known, were kings at all to be considered in the list of rulers.<sup>139</sup> Both men seem to have been offspring of a mother of royal blood, but of a non-royal father.

That at least one of the two offering tables found in Beg N 16 was that of the original tomb owner is not certain either; the find of the other offering plate of later style speaks against an undisturbed situation. C. Rilly dates both offering tables distinctly later in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD and that of Aryesbokhe even in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>140</sup>

It has never been included into the discussion that north of the stair to the subterranean rooms of Beg N 16 the fragment of a third offering table (fig. 13) has been found in the plunderers' dump on the surface.<sup>141</sup> The rim of the plate shows an inscription in illegible hieroglyphs, the scene is not discernible. In the same area a broken statue of a hawk was discovered.<sup>142</sup> It is not inconceivable that the Ba-figure and this offering table fragment belonged to the original tomb erected on the spot.

The layout and form of Beg N 16<sup>143</sup> with the chapel chamber inside the pyramid is unusual, no other Kushite pyramid displays a similar structure (figs. 14-15). The subterranean part is reached via a sloping stair of 12 irregular steps coming from the east and leading to two burial chambers. The first large chamber has four side 'niches' at each corner, the second room in the west is much smaller with a rock cut coffin bench on the northern side. The chapel emplacement of the original pyramid seems to have been nearer to the substructure. The slightly asymmetrical (W: 4.90 m, E: 4.57 m) pyramid is built of (sometimes irregular) masonry blocks which in cases also exhibit bossage. Several blocks, some with relief decoration<sup>144</sup>, were re-used in the pyramid's masonry; secondary engravings are likewise found,



Fig. 13: Offering table fragment 21-3-568 (after Dunham 1957: 137, pl. 39.F).

some of them presumably applied before the final erection of the existing pyramid, thus stemming from an earlier dismantled structure. Part of the pyramid corpus itself, e.g. the west side, seems to belong to the original structure.<sup>145</sup> The entrance into the interior on the east side is marked by slightly projecting jambs, an architrave with horizontal torus moulding and the place for an inlaid sun disk with uraei, as well as a cavetto cornice above. Two quadrangular depressions on each side of the entrance once contained further inlays. The chapel inside the pyramid is of oblong shape with a ceiling in form of a projecting corbelled roof now open to the sky. Many incised Arabic and other graffiti obscure the relief decoration.

Of the chapel-reliefs of Beg N 16 up to now only descriptions by Lepsius and Wallis Budge were available.<sup>146</sup> The work of F. W. Hinkel in the Northern Royal Cemetery has yielded more information on the chapel's decoration. On the west wall Nephthys and Anubis are pouring a libation on an offering table.<sup>147</sup> They are positioned in front of the enthroned king showing distinct African face

139 Cf. Hofmann 1978: 115-6; Rilly 2001: 80-1; 2006: 441; Zibelius-Chen 2006: 301; Breyer 2014: 153.

140 Rilly 2001: 79-81; 2017: 323-4.

141 21-3-568, Dunham 1957: 137, pl. 39.F; present location unknown. Lotus flowers upon offerings are visible.

142 21-3-567, Dunham 1957: 137, pl. 38.D.

143 Dunham 1957: 137, fig. 90, pl. 33; Hinkel Archive DAI. I am much indebted to the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) in Berlin which now houses the Hinkel Archive and especially to Martina Düntzer who has given me access to the digitised material of F.W. Hinkel's documentation. See Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Zentrale, Archiv Friedrich W. Hinkel, D-DAI-Z-Arch-FWH-WMS-0227 (<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/buch/6399>, accessed 22.03.2018). Hinkel has documented the remains of Beg N 16 at several occasions between 1976 and 2004.

144 Zach 1992: 299, pl. XXXII.3.

145 LD V text: 316-7.

146 LD V text: 317; Budge 1907 I: 404.

147 If belonging to the original decoration of the earliest tomb, the Abaton-style milk libation would be one of the first occurrences in a tomb chapel. The ritual is documented mostly in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD; the offering table of Aryesbokhe seems the last one cited by Yellin (1982: 153, she puts it in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD; but see above Rilly's dating of Aryesbokhe). According to J. Yellin the Abaton-style milk libation is found in tomb decoration not earlier than at Beg N 17. In tomb Beg N 15, however, structurally preceding Beg N 16, a libation scene with Anubis and Nephthys is likewise present, LD V text: 296; Wenig 1964 (2015): 29.

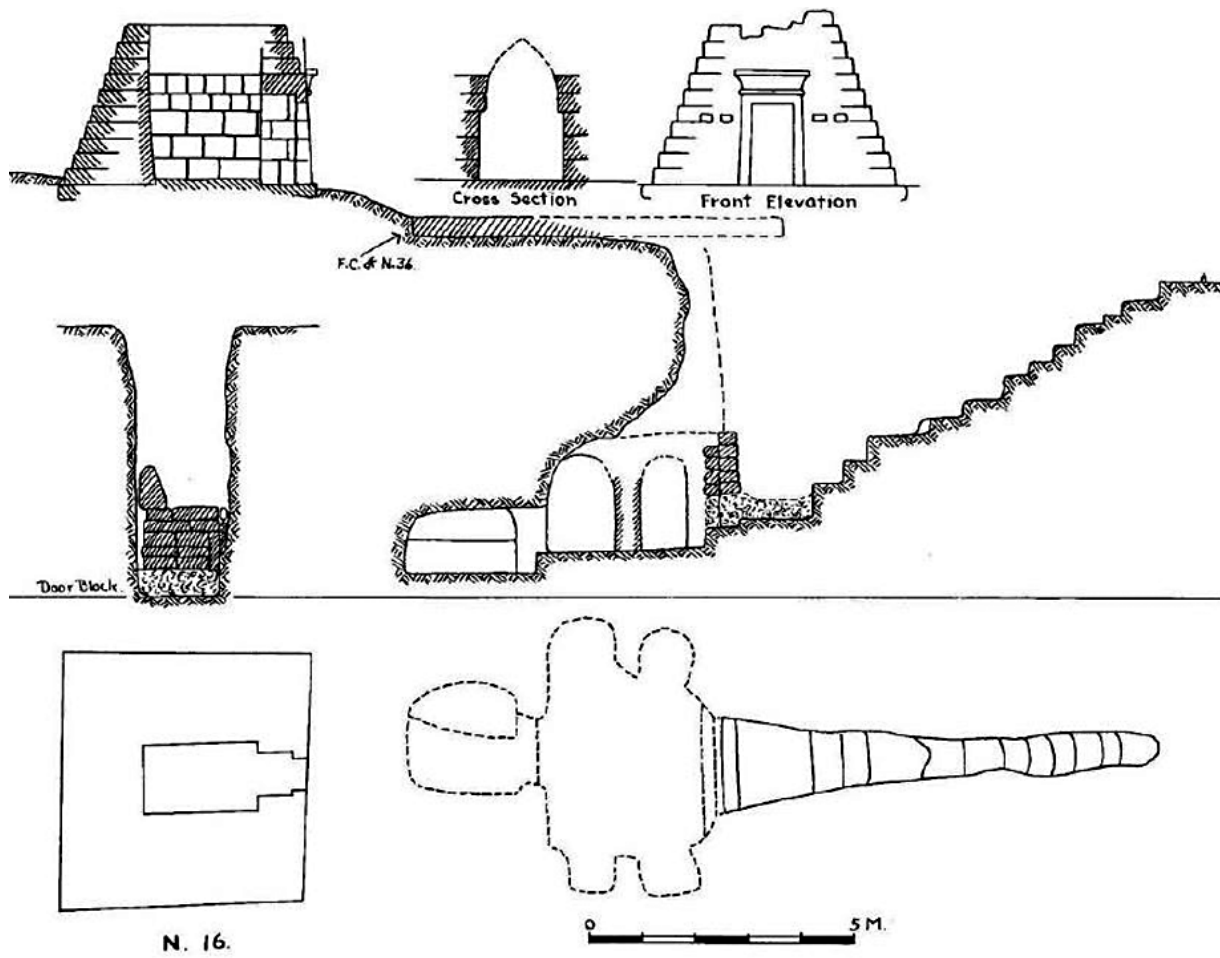


Fig. 14: Plan of Beg. N 16 (after Dunham 1957: 137 fig. 90).



Fig. 15: Beg. N 16 (after Dunham 1957: pl. XXXIII.A).



features. He is protected by a winged Isis, nine bows and an animal – lion (Lepsius)? hound? jackal? – are under his seat. The king holds crook and flail and is thus characterised as Osiris. In front of him the outline of two (plain?) cartouches are discernible. On the north wall a man (priest or son/successor) is censuring and pouring a libation to the deceased; he is followed by the funerary procession bearing palm-branches in their hands. Further palm-bearers, beginning at the right entrance wall, continue on the south wall. Three registers of animals (i.a. equids, a cow) appear on the other entrance wall. A frieze depicting lions (Lepsius) or hounds (?) seems to have terminated the upper end of the walls.

It remains unknown whether the relief decoration of the chapel inside the pyramid is that of the original tomb chapel using the old blocks or surviving walls or whether the decoration was newly made during the restoring. The relief appears somewhat irregular in some cases with relief lines not matching on two adjoining blocks. The enthroned king on the west wall wears a rounded wig, a beard (?) or fastening device for a crown<sup>148</sup> and a headgear of three upright stalks (?). Such headgear is known also from a loose block found around the north-west promontory of the Northern Cemetery and is ascribed by Hinkel to one of the smaller pyramid tombs there, Beg N 14 or N 15.<sup>149</sup> The king's wig in Beg N 16 seems to resemble those of Natakamani and Amanitenmomide in their tombs Beg N 22 and N 17 as well as those of the divine figures at the narrow sides of the pylon of Naga 200 (see above).<sup>150</sup>

The wig indeed points to a date of the reliefs in the time around Natakamani, Amanitenmomide and Amanakhareqerema and not to the later time of the owners of the offering tables REM 0815 and REM 0816. If a connection to Beg N 14 or N 15 can be made due to the headgear of three stalks, their possible proprietors Arakakhataror (Beg N 14) and Sorakarora (Beg N 15)<sup>151</sup> would equally belong to the same time range as the kings Natakamani up to Amanakhareqerema.

Layout and form of the pyramid of Beg N 16 speak for a later re-building at the place of an earlier pyramid and chapel. Some scholars assume that the owner of Beg N 36, built in a succeeding period directly east of Beg N 16, might have been responsible for the re-building, possibly because of the already ruined state of chapel and pyramid of the older burial Beg N 16.<sup>152</sup> A proposal by C. Rilly takes into consideration that each of the owners of the offering tables was responsible for building a tomb: Amanitaraqide for Beg N 36 and Aryesbokhe for the 'restored' pyramid with the integrated chapel of Beg N 16 (see also below).

The reason for constructing the pyramid, smaller than the original one, with the integration of the chapel into the pyramid corpus is not entirely clear, but may have been due to space requirements.<sup>153</sup> Re-building a chapel at the eastern front would have been too close to the pyramid of Beg N 36. Unsafe ground may equally be a possible reason as the chapel then would have been positioned directly over the second tomb chamber.

The re-modelling of pyramid and chapel, however, may not extend to the subterranean parts of Beg N 16 which perhaps contained the original burial, although disturbed/robbed at an unknown date. Conspicuous are here the number and the quality of the objects deposited. Some of them, e.g. bronze bells<sup>154</sup> and silver plaques with lion heads and deities depicted<sup>155</sup> bear striking resemblance to objects found in Beg N 18, the tomb of queen Amanikhatashan indicating a close temporal relationship.<sup>156</sup> In the first burial chamber A of Beg N 16 the hands of a deceased were found who is believed to be the original tomb owner. He may have been dragged by robbers from the coffin bench in chamber B.<sup>157</sup> Ten silver rings and two gold bracelets (21-3-642, 21-3-638, Khartoum) stuck at the left hand and wrist; another ten silver rings and two gold bracelets (21-3-641, 21-3-639, Boston) were at the right hand and wrist.

That the original Beg N 16 may be the burial place of Amanakhareqerema is also taken into consideration by C. Rilly.<sup>158</sup> The offering plates REM 0816 and REM 0815, as noted above, presumably belonged

148 Cf. Chapman & Dunham 1952: pls. 15A, 21A-C, 22A, C, Beg N 2, N 17, N 19.

149 Block 1414, cf. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Zentrale, Archiv Friedrich W. Hinkel, D-DAI-Z-Arch-FWH-WMS-0226 (<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/buch/6400>, accessed 22.03.2018). Reisner 1923: 49, likewise points to a general resemblance of reliefs of Beg N 15 and N 16: "the chapel reliefs [of Beg N 16] present the peculiar contracted form of N XV which occurs only in these two".

150 Beg N 17: Chapman & Dunham 1952: pls. 18B-C, 21B-C; Naga 200: Kuckertz forthcoming: chap. V.2.2.6.

151 Hofmann 1978: 115, 127-8.

152 Reisner 1923: 48-49; Dunham 1957: 137.

153 The New Kingdom brick pyramids of Aniba (cemetery S/SA, cf. Steindorff 1937: 47-8, pls. 29-30) with chamber inside surely were not model for it.

154 Kendall 1982: cat. 68, 77; Näser 1998.

155 Dunham 1957: 139, 141, fig. 90, pls. 63A-B, 64A.

156 Dunham 1957: 146-53, figs. 95-99, numerous plates; Hofmann 1978: 145-6.

157 Dunham 1957: 137, 139, fig. 92, pls. 60.G, 61.N.

158 Rilly 2017: 200-1 plan, 291, 323-4.



to the kings who built Beg N 36 (Amanitaraqide) and the one who reconstructed the pyramid Beg N 16 with chapel inside (Aryesebokhe). Rilly thus assumes that three kings were active at this specific spot in the Northern Cemetery – Amanakhareqerema (end 1<sup>st</sup> century AD), Amanitaraqide (2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century AD) and Aryesbokhe (first half 4<sup>th</sup> century AD).

If Amanakhareqerema on the other hand is to be regarded as successor to Amanitenmomide then tombs following Beg N 17 have to be considered as his burial place. These are according to Hinkel Beg N 18, N 19, N 32 and N 34 (see above); later tombs are not considered here. But most of these tombs are safely attributed to known rulers by inscriptional evidence in the tomb itself. Beg N 18 – although once thought of being that of Amanakhareqerema Nebmaatre – is that of ruling queen Amanikhatashan of whom no other document has survived.<sup>159</sup> The tomb owner of Beg N 19 is king Tarekeniwal.<sup>160</sup> Beg N 34 is attributed with high probability to Aritenyesebokhe.<sup>161</sup> Only Beg N 32, the tomb of a woman, lacks a definite owner.<sup>162</sup>

Not only the royal tombs at Meroe but also those at Jebel Barkal have to be considered. New research on the periods of Kushite history by L. Török puts the tombs Bar 9 and Bar 10 after Amanitaraqide (presumed Beg N 16) and Aryesebokhe (presumed Beg N 36) and before Amanitenmomide in Beg N 17.<sup>163</sup> The sex of the owner of Bar 9 is unknown but the tomb and its contents are rather too meagre to ascribe it to a royal interment. A queen was buried in Bar 10 from where the statue-group MFA 21.11808 depicting a queen between two goddesses derived. In Dunham's publication the tombs Bar 20, 21, 22, 23 and 25 (generation 49-55, c. late 1<sup>st</sup> to early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD or later) follow Beg N 18. All tombs are inconspicuous and the sex of the burials undetermined as is also Beg N 40 (generation 56, king?).<sup>164</sup>

The actual evidence and the partially simple structures preclude that any of these later tombs could be the burial place of Amanakhareqerema. None of the tombs dated after Amanitenmomide's reign can definitely be ascribed to him.

### 3. AMANAKHAREQEREMA AND AMENHOTEP III

The following considerations depend on the chronological position allotted to Amanakhareqerema and Amanitenmomide, both with the identical throne name of Nebmaatre. If indeed Amanakhareqerema lived later it may be supposed that he refers to his predecessor in adopting his throne name. Subsequently it is assumed that Amanakhareqerema is the earlier one to take over the throne name Nebmaatre.

The name Nebmaatre, “possessor of Maat is (the god) Re” or “the possessor of Maat is a Re”, always written in Egyptian hieroglyphs on the king's monuments, is a distinctive sign of Amanakhareqerema's interest in the well-known Egyptian pharaoh Amenhotep III of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. This ruler, famous for his building program in Egypt, was also present in the conquered Nubian territory.<sup>165</sup> Military campaigns against southern peoples occurred several times in his reign, two substantial ones in year 5 and somewhat later (year 30?), the date of which is discussed.<sup>166</sup> His temple at Soleb and that for his wife Tiye at Sedeinga are by their enormous size not only physically conspicuous points in the landscape.<sup>167</sup> As a focus of administrative (taxation, redistribution of land produce) as well as religious activities (feasts, processions) the temples surely had an impact on the indigenous populace. The deified Tiye e.g. was venerated as Isis in Meroitic times. Settlement traces and cemeteries of the Meroitic period speak of a considerable population in the area at that time. The temple at Soleb itself was still standing in parts. Only the back area had been destroyed, probably by a considerable flood from the west that had occurred at some point between the end of the New Kingdom and the Meroitic period.<sup>168</sup> Meroitic residential remains and a sacral installation inside the ancient pronaos as well as some Meroitic inscriptions have been discovered.<sup>169</sup>

Besides at Soleb and Sedeinga Amenhotep III was also active in temple building or decoration or at least present by statues or steles at other localities in Kush, so at Amada, Faras?, Buhen, Tabo, Jebel Barkal, Quban, Wadi es Sebua, Sai, Aniba, Kawa and Doukki Gel. Inscriptions of administrative person-

159 FHN III 935, no. 225.

160 FHN III 935-6, no. 226.

161 FHN III 938-9, no. 228; Hinkel 1981; Zibelius-Chen 2006: 498.

162 Hofmann 1978: 152-3, 159; Chapman & Dunham 1952: pl. 23A-C.

163 Török 2015: 108; cf. Hofmann 1978: 111-3 on the different attributions and dating.

164 On Beg N 40, Bar 9, 10, 20-23 and 25, see Dunham 1957: 112-5, 154-9, figs 100-103, pl. 38.C.

165 See PM VII: index; Bryan, in Kozloff et al. 1992: 106-10;

O'Connor 1998; Ullman 2009: 256-8; Török 2009: 230-6.

166 References in O'Connor 1998: 264-70; Davies 2012: 32 with n. 29-30.

167 Soleb: Ullmann 2009: 257-8; cf. also Bayer 2014: 207-31; Sedeinga: Ullmann 2009: 258; Bayer 2014: 199-207; Francigny et al. 2014: 36-43.

168 Schiff-Giorgini 2002: 21, 30, 410 n. 6; 2003: fig. 2.

169 Schiff-Giorgini 2002: 30-1, 363-4.



nel of his time like that of the vice-king Merymes at Tombos or at Jebel Dosha likewise document his name in Kush.<sup>170</sup>

After the retreat of the Egyptians and the abandonment of temples and towns Kushite kings began to exploit Amenhotep III's temple at Soleb in commandeering statuary and objects to furnish their own temples at Jebel Barkal. The exact date of the transferring of statuary from Soleb is not known but occurred presumably sometime in the early 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty and perhaps concretely under Pi(ankh)y.<sup>171</sup> Examples thereof are two lion statues, the Prudhoe lions, standing in front of palace B 1200 and said to be transferred by the early Meroitic king Amanislo (British Museum EA 1, EA 2)<sup>172</sup>, two falcon statues (Berlin ÄM 1622, Boston MFA 23.1470)<sup>173</sup>, a cobra statue (MFA 21.11699)<sup>174</sup> and all in all ten ram statues erected at B 500<sup>175</sup>.

Taken all this into consideration, Amenhotep III in the Meroitic period cannot be considered as unknown, on the contrary people and their rulers must have been very well aware of his importance and splendour. This certainly was felt especially at the religious centre Jebel Barkal where objects of his were numerous and – like the rams of the Amun temple B 500 – visible for all.

Although the fleece of the rams of El Hassa is considered as resembling that of the Soleb-rams<sup>176</sup> it differs, however, from the more elongated fur-tips of the rams from Soleb. They are both indeed totally different from the curly fleece of the rams of the time of Natakamani and Amanitore at Naga, Meroe 260, Dangeil and Muweis. The fleece-style of the rams at El Hassa may instead go back to the rams of Taharqa at Kawa which are of a very similar pattern to the rams of Amenhotep III from which they were presumably copied.<sup>177</sup> Therefore it cannot be excluded that Amanakhareqerema here referred to his mighty Kushite predecessor<sup>178</sup> instead to – or together with (?) – the remote Egyptian pharaoh.

170 Davies 2012; 2017.

171 Reisner 1931: 81, 85.

172 Kozloff et al. 1992: cat. 30 (EA 2), 219-20, fig. 30a (EA 1), 229, pl. 18; cf. Török 2015: 69-70.

173 Dunham 1970: 25, 27, fig. 20, pls. 24-25.

174 Dunham 1970: 28 fig. 21, pl. 26.

175 Reisner 1931: 81. Only two rams of originally 22 on both sides of the dromos are still remaining in Soleb, cf. Schiff-Giorgini 2002: 19, 381, 424; 2003: fig. 215.

176 Rondot 2011: 438; 2012: 172-3, 179; repeated by Baldi 2015: 55.

177 Macadam 1955: 60, 71, 88-9, pls. 6, 44.e-g, 50; Wolf 1990: 61-2. Whether the Kawa-rams are original rams of Amenhotep III or copied from the Soleb rams is not entirely clear, see Bryan, in: Kozloff et al. 1992: 221.

178 Also Rilly 2017: 286.

Another document of Amanakhareqerema brings both kings into connection with one another. On one of the relief fragments from Doukki Gel the kneeling king is holding a cartouche with the name Nebmaat[re] in his uplifted hand (see above). Presenting a cartouche, i.e. a name-offering, can be interpreted as the offering of Maat itself especially when the royal name contains the element *m3't*. Evidence of the rite of 'offering Maat' is for the first time documented in the reign of Amenhotep III.<sup>179</sup> The same holds true for the equivalent name offering.<sup>180</sup> From which source this topic on the Doukki Gel fragment derives – a building of Amenhotep III (?) – is entirely unknown and speculative. The offering of Maat is documented in Kush in the Napatan period and in Meroitic times on the columns of Natakamani's temple at Amara.

A third – however not really clear-cut – document is the headless statue of Amenhotep III positioned in the Meroitic sanctuary B 704. It had led to the assumption that his namesake Amanakhareqerema was responsible for renovating and restructuring the temple. This seems not totally unlikely but lacks definite proof (see above).

Although some of the arguments cited may not be entirely convincing, the use of the throne name Nebmaat is clearly revealing Amanakhareqerema's inclination to Amenhotep III. He refers back to one of the most splendid pharaohs of the Egyptian New Kingdom who left many traces in Kush and of whom the kings of the early 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty used monuments to embellish their own sacred city Napata. It may perhaps not be Amenhotep III himself who was the focal point of Amanakhareqerema's interest but instead the monuments of his Kushite predecessors and royal ancestors at Jebel Barkal with all their items borrowed from Soleb.

In the last years the king Amanakhareqerema, dated to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, has developed from a barely known figure to a rather important ruler in the history of the Meroitic Empire. Archaeological discoveries of high importance have brought to light a king who was active at least from the 3<sup>rd</sup> cataract to the Meroitic heartlands. Especially the two temples he built in El Hassa and Naga together with other documents have given new insights into religious concepts but also – if the interpretations presented above are taken into account – into his political aims and conduct.

179 Teeter 1997: 91, pl. 16.

180 Sourouzian 1997; Lurson 1999; Spieser 2000: 138-9.



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#### ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Der Artikel beleuchtet den meroitischen König Amanakhareqerema, der am Ende des 1. Jh. n. Chr. lebte. Er errichtete zwei Tempel – in El Hassa und in Naga – und ist durch etliche weitere Objekte

dokumentiert. Dazu gehören der Soba-Widder, der sogenannte Omphalos vom Jebel Barkal, ein Relief-fragment aus Doukki Gel und ein beschrifteter Stein aus Naga. Neben den namentlich gekennzeichneten Bauten und Objekten werden auch Projekte besprochen, die er möglicherweise ebenfalls zu verantworten hatte wie Bauaktivitäten in Dangeil und am Jebel Barkal. Zur Diskussion gestellt wird ein möglicher Bezug zu dem napatansischen Herrscher Senkamanisken. Ein weiterer Abschnitt beschäftigt sich mit seinem Namen, der Herkunft und dem vermuteten Begräbnis in Beg N 16 im Nordfriedhof von Meroe. Thematisiert wird auch der durch den Thronnamen vermutete Bezug zu dem ägyptischen Pharaon Amenhotep III.

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